continuous state of enmity existed between his clan and the husband's, or if the husband owed him a substantial debt, one that clearly equaled the woman's bride price. In the first case a new war followed almost inevitably. Later on the woman's family contacted the new son-in-law. The gifts they brought were considered the dowry, and he began to pay the bride price. But there was no question of reimbursing the bride price to the first husband; relations between him and the woman's clan were completely broken. The difference between this situation and the standard procedure described above lies precisely in the fact that there is no restitution. In the case of a debt there was no restitution either. The woman's flight constituted a compensation (lowɔ́lɛ́) and was therefore so designated (lit. ɛ́kɔ́ŋɔ́tá nɔ́lí lowɔ́lɛ́). If the husband lodged a complaint, the judges sent him a piece of bolɔ́lɔ́ (1) to let him know that they did

1. The bolɔ́lɔ́ is a piece of dried banana leaf which has been rolled up and tied with two knots (or more, as the case required). To indicate the end of a palaver, the bolɔ́lɔ́ is cut in two (or more) pieces, with a knot in each piece. One piece is sent to each interested party.

not want to concern themselves with his case, which he himself knew to have very poor grounds. Even the members of his own clan prevented him from making war; they knew perfectly well that the wrong was entirely on their relative's side.

The practice of taking refuge that we have just described was simply known as bɛjwɔ́, lɔ́lɔmɔtɔ ɔ́lɔwɔ́ bɛjwɔ́, because that word was the principal one in the ultimatum.

As we have said above, the custom here described disappeared with colonization. Even though the scope of this study does not extend to the Nkundó who are settled north of the Tshuapa, it [393] may be of interest to note that an evolution of this custom is taking shape in the Losangaya region. If a woman is condemned for leaving the conjugal household and imprisoned, she asks someone to marry her -- if the opportunity presents itself. If the man accepts

The event is announced by the usual signal, but the signal is doubled or, if the children are of different sexes, the signal for each sex is given once. It is followed by the dance beat: two or three long and two short.

The next day the father's relatives go outside the village, preferably to a crossroads. On each side they plant a stalk of lokôkôlôkô. All around the stalk they spread a little heap of small branches and various leaves called ɓɔd. It is a sign and a place of benediction and good fortune. Each passer-by stops, picks two leaves, places one on each pile, spits on it, and says twé.(2) Then

2. Onomatopoeia for "spit."

they clap hands and twice sing out, yelí yoyo. Such behavior brings the benediction of the twins upon a person's journey, his undertakings, his marriage. The umbilical cord as well as the placenta and membrane are buried under the heap.

Every morning the mother and father draw two stripes with kaolin on the middle of their foreheads and on their arms, above and below the elbow. They do the same to the twins. (3) They

3. Sometimes a double stripe is added at the temples. The kaolin may be used pure or mixed with the red paint called ngóla.

continue doing so until the child is weaned. If after that time one of the children falls ill, they begin again treating him in this manner until he is cured, taking care not to omit his brother, lest he too fall ill. For while these designs are signs of joy, they are above all a prophylactic measure against children's fever (likítswáki), [502] called wísanyi when it occurs in twins or in a child following them, and manifests itself chiefly by tumors of the head and face.

Twins are invariably called Mbóyó and Bokótu, names given to the first born and the second respectively, whatever their sex. The Bombwanja (like the Ekonda) use the names Mbóó and Mpia, respectively. The mother takes the name of Ámbá.

the owner, and everyone who has helped gets his share according to the amount of work he has done. [91] Frequently a big sugar-cane beer spree is started, where disgusting scenes often take place until finally the drunken men are taken home by their wives. In civilized Europe it is sometimes not much better.

Boats are made just large enough for two men, as well as others sufficient for a hundred or even a hundred and fifty men. The big war canoes of the great chief Evotoko of Weka and of the former chief of Bandaka, a certain Isoempoko, are known throughout the region. The war canoe of the latter was said to hold a hundred and fifty men, and the edge of this canoe to reach up to the shoulders of a fairly tall Negro. The ordinary canoe in which Whites travel is, as a rule, sufficiently large for twenty to thirty oarsmen.

The prices of canoes vary, according to size and strength, from 200 to 10,000 mikaka.

The Lokole

The lokole plays a very large part in the life of the Negro. Without the lokole, the life of the Negro would be inconceivable.

The lokole can be best described as the public telephone with which the Negro makes his thoughts known publicly from village to village.

The lokole is to the Negro what the trumpet signal is to the soldier.

The lokole calls the men to meetings, to war, and to the hunt; the lokole calls all the people, great and small, to the dance. During the dance it is the loyal accompanist until deep in the night; its monotonous sound brings the enthusiasm of the dancers almost to the point of frenzy.

The Negro telephones his friends at great distances and explains what he wants. If two Negroes from the same village or from different villages have a quarrel, they abuse each other over the lokole, and the whole world is kept fully up-to-date on the details of the dispute. Each one tries to blacken the reputation of the other in the eyes of the other villagers. If someone dies in the village, it is proclaimed everywhere the whole nigh: through, by means of the lokole, that

322 so-and-so has died. Hours before his actual death, people everywhere know that a certain person is on his deathbed and that his death is imminent.

[100] If the witch doctor is up to his tricks of duping the silly Negro, people everywhere around know just what nonsense he is performing at what moment.

The White announces his morning and midday orders by means of the lokole and tells his workmen when they may cease work for the day by the same means.

In the mornings and evenings and in the case of wet weather, the lokole carries especially far, but in the full sun it is not so effective.

323 The lokole is a large block of wood which is split down the mid-534 dle for almost the whole of its length, and the inside part is carefully hollowed out. The lokole has the shape of an extra long, open mussel shell although, in general, the outside edges are flattened out.

323 The making of lokole is the trade of a certain person, and some Negroes are well-known for the lokole they have made.

Only four kinds of wood are suitable for the making of a lokole. 324 These are (1) Bokungu; (2) Likoso; (3) Bolondo; and (4) Isi. The last 100 is the most excellent kind of wood and the one used by the Mongo Negro to manufacture his "ngulo" (red dye) with which he smears his body for even the least important event that occurs in his village. The Isi is probably a species of redwood. The Mongo Negro makes 322 five different lokole: (1) Ingonge, small in shape; (2) lokole ja lomali, 534 medium size; (3) Bongungu, large lokole. Those three are all like the one described above. They are struck with sticks (bowolo) from the "momamba" tree (umbrella tree). (4) Bonkoko is the large, high lokole that is struck with two sticks to the ends of which are attached several balls of caoutchouc. The sound of these lokole carries for the greatest distance. (5) Ngomo is the large, oblong, upright dance lokole. This lokole is simply a large, oblong piece of wood, completely hollowed out, decorated a little, about 1.25 meters high, and covered at the top with a piece of dried antelope or leopard skin. It is struck with the fingers and the palm of the hand. This lokole is the well-known tom-tom, still used by the Negroes on the steamboats to announce their arrival in the villages along the river.

202 And now something about lokole language.

197 The beat of the lokole varies, and it is by this means that the Negroes [101] understand the different words. The tempo varies also.

The White hears only the difference in tempo, nothing more. The Negro miles away understands what is being telephoned.

The lokole language consists chiefly of metaphors and is thus not intelligible to any White in the whole of the Congo. The Negroes are proud of their invention and also pleased that the White, who otherwise can do everything, is not able to understand their lokole.

Every man has his own name (nkombo) on the lokole with which he makes himself known. Because such a name often covers several lines of script, chiefly expressed in metaphors giving facts of the public life of the Negro concerned, it would be a physical impossibility for a White to master the lokole language in the way a Negro does. Actually, not even all Negroes understand the art of beating the lokole.

[102] The women have a general name; beating the lokole is only for the men, and no woman understands the art. The women understand what is being broadcast when the lokole is beaten, but they cannot beat it themselves. Moreover, they would be ashamed to attempt it, this is no task for a woman, and they would be laughed at. The lokole name, or nkombo, of the women is as follows:

Bali lo tolombo bwaleki lisala, bwaleki tombokoko, tosil' ol' oma, befomba eka lisala.

"Women in numbers, worked the garden, prepared much to eat, consisting of bananas, to eat out of the garden."

A White, personally, has no nkombo of his own on the lokole, but to announce the arrival of a White in a village, the following is spread around far and wide:

Lolema je lifeka fofa, esenga esenaka nkola.

"The bat flies about everywhere, the pin wounds the nails of the feet."

With "the bat flies about everywhere" is to be understood the government agent who goes from village to village collecting the taxes. "The pin wounds the nails of the feet" means that, just as the Negroes go on the warpath with sharp pointed sticks dipped in poison to wound the enemies' feet, the government agent is always on his rounds with his rifle, ready for the fray.

[103] The nkombo of the Catholic missionary is as follows: [102]

(1) Bonsolo nsolo bo nkanga; (2) bofafa boki ndoki lisako nda lokombo; (3) etafe bolo; (4) benanga bolemdaka la mpeto.

Bomolo mole be nkonga. "The one always screaming who is followed into the high grass, the strong branch, the districts go along with the priest (Father).

1. The missionary is here here as a witch doctor (bomolo mole be nkonga is a general lokole name for the Negro witch doctor), who, into the Negro doctor, is looked upon as a doctor and a priest.

2. Bofeka boki nsiebi lisako nda lokumbe [sic]. The priest, because he is always seeking converts everywhere, is here compared with an antelope which, when it is followed, runs around and around on the high grass.

3. Etale bolo. The missionary is here compared with a strong branch. He is strong because he is influential and highly regarded by the Negroes.

4. Bonanga bekondoko lo ngoyo. The districts all go along with the Father (priest). They all follow his instructions.

The nkumbo of the Protestant Anglican missionary is as follows:

Bofenga mondele bonanga bono nkondo l'Englow.

"The fishing net is spread out, the country goes along with the Englishmen."

In the same way as the fishing net confines off a part of the river and everything is caught in it, so all the people go along with the Englishmen. The Protestant Anglican missionary was in this district before the arrival of the Catholic missionary, so this nkumbo refers, of course, to this period. Since the arrival of the Catholic missionary, the situation has changed completely in this district.

These few examples give an indication of the difficulty in understanding the lokole language.

In addition, the Negro makes a few chairs, the most important of which is the lyeko lo mpaka, the chair for the elder, a three-legged affair with two props under it, topped with a piece out of the umbrella tree; into this the elder can throw himself as lazily as he wishes.

Then there is the so-called ebonga, a little stool chopped out of a block of wood with the native axe. This is finished off attractively with an enumwa, a small paring chisel, and the seat is decorated around the edge with studs which have been bought in some factory or other.

consists of a beautifully fashioned native knife, or a lance, or mitako [copper wire used as currency]. In some areas, it was the polygynist who attended the mother at the birth of the daughter. He had the wood gathered, water brought, and food prepared. If, then, the expected child was a boy, the security was usually returned, and the contract declared null and void. If, however, the one who had given the security was a village chief or a man of importance, then the father of the child tried to give him another daughter. The father had, for instance, at an earlier time given a daughter to another man of much less importance. In the above-mentioned case, he would give back the bride price received, take his daughter back, and give her to the polygynist from whom he expected a larger bride price.

Sometimes too the boy was taken by the polygynist and remained in his family until the father could trade a daughter for him.

While very young and still a child, the little daughter was installed in the harem of the polygynist. She was brought up there, together with other children of her age and status; or rather, she grew up there in the midst of those heathen customs without any upbringing.

The composition of the harem of a polygamist:

The first wife was called the Bomatsa; she preceded all the other wives in rank, and in the absence of the polygynist, she was the mistress of the harem.

The second wife was called Ekila; she was the most loved and preceded all the remaining wives. She was also called Nkonda.

The third wife was called Bolumbu. At the appointment of the Bolumbu, a certain ceremony took place, and the wife was clothed with an animal skin. The Nku, a sort of patriarch and magician, sometimes had three or four Bolumbu who served as messengers to other villages. In this capacity they had special privileges. For instance, to attack a Bolumbu was a reason for declaring war.

[523] The remaining women were simply women of the harem, without distinction.

In the area of Monjoku, among the Bolee [Bole], the first wife was called Nkisa, with the same rank as Bomatsa. The second

literally that the deceased has hanged the heart, the former in need of a tree which bears cross and falls from a grass cut at its base.

On the announcement of the death, an expert drummer drums out the news. There will be at least four drums of the type known as *lokolo*, and a *monga*.* The four drums are called by the names, *Ejemale*, having the "biggest voice", that is a deep bass note, *Monggo*, having a higher note, *Mongemale*, a high pitched note, and *Mankete*, having a very high penetrating note. To these four drums others are added; if the *nkumu* himself did not possess sufficient, they would be borrowed from the surrounding villages, and their notes matched with those of the first three drums, being beaten with them in their turn. *Mankete* is beaten simultaneously with *Ejemale*, giving a rhythmic tattoo. When the news of the death has been sent out on *Ejemale*, the funeral drumming commences, as follows:

Mongemale. Bwimongemo w'Amba lokolo,
Monggo. Nimale ikima, nwongwamoko,
Ejemale. Tokumf' ikonga mokwet' o nyama,
Otobolokoko mwonga,
Lolwonga lolwonda nwonda,
Bikoko lokwala lokolo.
Monga. Tolokoko nkwi nkwonga,
Tolokoko nkwi nkwonga, &c.

The English and the interpretation are as follows:

Mongemale. A scattering of *Amba*, the snail. (The mother of twins, always called *Amba*, here gives her name to the snail because of her prolific progeny, which, upon being introduced to the world, scatter, while the mother dies. So the death of the *nkumu* will cause a scattering of his many wives and children.)

Monggo. Feathers fall; pick them up. (That is to say, for your arrow shafts, for if you don't, and come back later, the wind will have scattered them and you won't find them. So while the *nkumu* was alive it was the time for his children to learn his teachings so that when poisoners came after his death they would be well acquainted with his wisdom and know how to settle them.)

Ejemale. We are burying the *ikonga*, husband of animals, You have just eaten *nwonga*, The skin looks up at the ridge pole, The jaw bones look up at the sky. (The *ikonga* is an animal much prized for its fat meat; the *nkumu* always gets his share when it is killed, and the skin is made into carrying straps for infants, and into belts. Barwa are prohibited the use of it for any purpose. It is therefore fitting to liken the *nkumu* to the *ikonga*. *Monga* (sing. *Ikonga*) is the equivalent of a snack. When a woman brings her caseava from the swamp where it has been soaking for several days, her husband may be too hungry to wait the long hours required to cook it, so to appease his hunger his wife takes a piece or two of the unprepared root, splits it in two, places salt between, wraps it in a *bokondo* leaf and roasts it in the hot ashes, where it is quickly cooked. So the *nkumu* just had time to eat a few *nwonga*; he didn't wait for the big cooking; his life was suddenly cut off.)

Nwonga. Don't pull out the leopard's eyelashes. (That is, while he is alive; now he is dead one can disregard his power.)

* A *lokolo* is a slit gong made from a hollowed log. In two areas are produced by striking the two lips of the slit. A *monga* is a hollowed log, open at one end, across which is stretched a vellum hide.

614 kinship subgroup [Untersippe] for groups of rank C;
kinship group [Sippe] for groups of rank D (the exogamous units);
large kinship group [Grosssippe] for groups of rank E.

Local Organization

361 The second diagram[1] shows the settlement pattern of the
621 Isangi group in its old settlement area up to 1949. At this time
178 Isangi was relocated near the highway. Only two of the nuclear kinship groups of Isangi can lay claim to territory reaching far enough toward the east as to extend beyond the new highway. Thus, the resettlement process has led to a complete change of the settlement pattern. However, the functions of the settlement communities have not yet been adapted to the new settlement. At present the inhabitants are still so engaged in speculation about the possibility of a return to their own old territory that they have not yet reformed their village organization.

621 We observe that the village is divided into six settlement
614 communities (30), each of which consists only of the members

30. See Diagram 3.

of one of the two kinship groups of Isangi. [200] We find that only the group of the father, which formerly was a kinship group in its own right, is attached to one settlement community of the kinship group Ngelé. Incidentally, we might point out that the names of the two kinship groups, Ngelé and Nkoto, mean "down the river" and "up the river." The older group is called "down the river" since in ngelé the river is large and wide. We come across this honorary term for the older group in some other villages although there is not always an "up-river" group. No corresponding settlement pattern can be found.

614 The degree of cohesion among the constituent kinship
621 groups in settlement community I is so strong that the entire
202 community has a communal bokendi, a communal messenger.
624

[1] [page 7, category 116.--Analyst]

614 621 ●202 624 It is the task of the messengers to transmit all important messages to the other groups in accordance with a precise plan; this is particularly true regarding the invitations to the meetings of the village council with the nkúmú. At the same time they inform the other groups as to the program of the meeting. The first messenger calls on the messenger of the other community; the old men are gathered at the latter's house in order to receive and to discuss the message. The messenger of this community, in turn, departs for the next in line. As a result of this practice the messenger and his home became one of the centers of social life.

621 614 361 623 The same uniformity is found in community II. Here we can also see the engangala, the meeting place of the village Isangi and of its branch villages. The meeting place is an open space in which stands a short tree with a broad crown. The representatives of the several villages gather in the shade of this tree since one of the open men's houses could not accommodate all of them. The senior of the nuclear kinship groups Mpia (No. 14), Nsambi (No. 15), and Liengo (No. 16) has his house on this spot which is situated on the border of the territory belonging to these three groups. The elder of Mpia, however, is the messenger for the hamlet of Boyeke; he may of course be identical with the "elder on the engangala."

614 621 Cohesion within the third settlement community was also so strong that it employs only one messenger. The kinship subgroup Nsambísílí which is concentrated in this hamlet is said to consist of the descendants of an illegitimate child of the daughter of the village founder (see Diagram 1). As is the case in many [782] [624] other villages, it is therefore entrusted with the office of the boténi, who carries out the sacrifice of human beings and animals on the proper occasions.

614 621 624 202 The three communities just described are relatively homogeneous groups; the three following ones are quite heterogeneous. The two groups of hamlet IV belong to the kinship subgroups Iyolo and Mbo. In contrast to the kinship subgroups Lovendo and Besilo, they regard themselves as sufficiently different from

614 each other to employ their own messengers. When the messenger
621 of settlement II arrives here, he first calls on the messenger of
624 the nuclear kinship group Bosóbé (No. 19) and then to Impfinga
202 (No. 26). The messenger from Bosóbé calls on his relatives in settlement VI, who are the nuclear kinship group Mbelo-Mmuna (No. 22), while the messenger from Impfinga-Ndongó formerly had to call on the group Bommambo which is now extinct.

Settlement V consisted of three different groups. Bolíma, the group of the father, had its own messenger; however, he only received the messages without having to pass them on, which is also the case with all these last groups of the village. Both neighbors had their own messenger. The messenger from settlement I called on the nuclear kinship group Bolesangi, his relatives; the messenger from settlement III went to his relatives of the nuclear kinship group Ituli.

There were also two messengers in the last hamlet, but reports on this subject are insufficient since the nuclear kinship group Bommambo has been extinct for a long time.

178 All the settlements just mentioned have a common
614 characteristic: formerly, at important dance festivals, their
621 young men performed together in one joint corps de ballet. The
595 population was decimated as a result of the rigors of [201] the
[161] occupation period and also as a result of the population movement into the cities. Consequently, there are not enough young people any more, and I with II, III with IV, and V with VI act together. Thus, in each case we find Ngelé and Nkoto united
[361] in one ballet. Although these groups have also been scattered as a result of the new settlement pattern (next to the highway), the old organizational structure has been preserved, and the young people do not hesitate to walk the long distance to the practice field every day so they can dance in the old groupings.

621 All of Isangi, all three kinship groups, have one common
624 village chief, the Nkúmú, with an iyolo nsáka who gets the meet-
622 ings started, and a village court with its judges. There are other groups which correspond to Isangi (31), but have more than one

31. See Müller, Fürstentum, pp. 73 ff., 76 ff., 133 f.

614 Each hamlet includes one or several message districts.
621 Even at the time of the old settlement pattern the messenger
624 system was determined by the hierarchical structure and not
[202] at all by considerations of what was most practical (for example, the shortest route). Consequently this conservative institution of the conservative old men has not been affected at all by the relocation.

The villages are the communities of jurisdiction and of political life. Usually a nkúmú, presides over the meetings. If a village has several nkúmú, one of whom may be the judge or all may preside together, I have used the term "part of a village" [Dorfteil] for the district from which each nkúmú originates.

Those areas which have a special meeting place are here
361 referred to as a "province" [Gau]. The meeting place lies
621 within the territory of the oldest or second-oldest kinship group.
178 The practical importance of this institution for the entire province is minimal, but the two meeting places [202] which we discovered still constituted, until a short time ago, important social centers for the duplicate villages forming the administrative centers of the respective provinces. As a result of the relocation, the meeting places have now lost their function completely.

000 I hope that this paper has added new material to the discussion on the subject of ethno-sociological terminology, and that it will stimulate criticism and a new discussion of this important subject.